I:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TERMINOLOGY.

551 The Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, *cf. Ka kni ka Wiei, U kpa u Philip*. The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of teknonymy, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

777 179 551 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial discontinuance of English education has in some cases produced rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Blackwell Beam, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

565 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u kpoel*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

566 *U kylla-lyngkot*, corresponding to January. This month in the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

U Iaisng,—the cloudy changeable-weather moon, corresponding with April. 805

U Jim-maeg,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U Jú-la,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U Noitueg,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

N Noilar,—the moon when a plant called the *Jatalar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the *aroms*. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U Noilar,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for courting, the word *lar* also having the meaning to woo.

U Ry-ram,—the moon when nature fades (usually becomes red) corresponding with October.

U Noiaing,—the earthen-pot moon, corresponding with November.

U Nohpruh,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the *War* villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

Khasi.	*Synteng.*
1. Lynkah.	Ky-llao.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-sing.
3. Um-long.	Mao-long.
4. Rang-hep.	'lao-siang.
5. Shillong.	Maeshai.
6. Pomtih.	Pynkat.
7. Um-sih.	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh.	Ka-hat.

16. *Tekaeaomy*.—One more interesting custom that may be noticed is the Khasi and Synteng custom of *tekaeaomy*, or of parents taking the names of their children, *e.g.*, ka Kmi Ka Nari (the mother of Ka Nari), U Kpa Nihon (the father of Nihon). The taking of names thus is almost universally practiced. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with "father of" "mother of" as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea, U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi. 551 [191]

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*).

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited.

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan.

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below.

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; har ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iyneun
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hani ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpliias	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an

[1] [Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

mother, for which unit the Khasi word *kpoh* is used. Such a group of matrilineal kin is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single productive and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis.

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit as a higher level of organization than that of *kpoh*. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties.

List 6. *House-owners and their Spouses of Sohkynduh.*

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Ruka	Pohnong	Suro	Prarian
2. Shngiam	Pohnong	Nier	Riatam
3. U Rabi	Prarian		
4. Te	Prarian	Phaongrung	Dkhar
5. Pho	Khongriah	Ser	Dkhar
6. Dewli	Dkhar	Wen	Ksing
7. Snoh	Khongshei	Hajur	Khongsit
8. Kosimai	Dkhar	Koshon	Kongjah
9. Onti	Dkhar	Hajur	Khongsit
10. Jeid	Khonglam		
11. Jun	Khonsidir	Using	Ksing
12. Mo	Khongsidir	Kisbad	Khongshei
13. U sil	Khongsidir		
14. Rupai	Khongshei	Soli	Shrieh
15. Tngan	Khongmowpat	Tik	Prarian
16. Step	Khongmowpat	Nowel	Ksing
17. Phi	Khongsidir	Phoin	Mawpat
18. Khaila	Prarian	Sising	Masar
19. Jep	Ksing	Syndro	Dkhar
20. Khot	Shrieh	Lait	Khongshei
21. Pre	Prarian	Mon	Khongshei
22. Kam	Khonshei	Pion	Khongriah
23. Leni	Prarian	Jam	Khongjiliew
24. Shakmel	Khongngain	Jrop	Dkhar
25. Jia	Khongjiliew		
26. Jemnud	Khonglam	Josio	Riahtam
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Muta	Khonglam
28. Phimai	Riahtam	Rang	Dkhar
29. Jak	Riahtam	Babusing	Tyngsong
30. U Jin	Khonglam		
31. Kheri	Shrieh	Bising	Khonglam
32. Sor	Kynshah	Josio (26)	Riahtam

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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	House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
	—	—	—	—
33.	Ke	Khongsit	Beno	Khongriah
34.	Hil	Khongjliew	Mudui	Majaw
35.	Erisa	Riahtam	Jen	Khongji
36.	Eli	Khongsit	Khang	Khongshei
37.	Ede	Khongsit	Berod	Riahtam
38.	Keril	Shrieh	Kowai	Khongsit
39.	He	Khongsit	Dek	Mawpat
40.	Phro	Dkhar	Dakhil	Prarian
41.	Shugal	Khonglam	Jran	Prarian
42.	Ieitmon	Tham	Kop	Khongsidir
43.	Prsiang	Khongsit	Miton	Khongngain
44.	Pjah	Shirieh		
45.	Lhi	Prarian		
46.	Libon	Kynshah	Synbo	Dkhar
47.	Kweit	Tham	Horirai	Kynshah
48.	Syndon	Shirieh	Jum	Khongriah

Note: 1) 3, 13, and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or sister (mother, niece) living with them.
2) Husbands of 10, 44 and 45 died, and 25 divorced.
3) Husbands of 26 and 32 are the same man (polygynyst).

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List 7. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 6.*

	House-owner		*Spouses*	*Total*
	Women	*Men*		
	—	—	—	—
1. Prarian	5	1	5	11
2. Riahtam	3		3	6
3. Dkhar	5		6	11
4. Shrieh	5		1	6
5. Pohnong	2		0	2
6. Ksing	1		3	4
7. Khongsit	5		3	8
8. Khongsidir	3	1	1	5
9. Khongshei	3		3	6
10. Khongmowpat	2		2	4
11. Khonglam	3	1	2	6
12. Khongjiliew	2		1	3
13. Khongngain	1		1	2
14. Khongriah	1		3	4
15. Tham	2		0	2
16. Kynshah	2		1	3
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Masar			1	1
19. Tygsong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	45	3	40	88

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List 8. *Actual descent Links found among House-owners of Sohkynduh.* 613 621

*House-owners**	*Kur*
1. 18-21-23	Prarian
2. 4-45	Prarian
3. 28-29-35	Riahtam
4. 27-40	Dkhar
5. 20-48-44-38	Shrieh
6. 33-39-43	Khongsit
7. 36-37	Khongsit
8. 11-12	Khongsidir
9. 7-22	Khongshei
10. 16-15	Khongmowpat
11. 25-34	Khongjiliew
12. 32-46	Kynshah

Note: Figures correspond to that of List 6.

List 9. *House-owners and their Spouses of Kongton.* 551• 613 614 621

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pohnong	Ijiro	Khongsit
2. Klur	—	•(Mahalik)	Shabong
3. Pheni	—	•(Skit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Skit) (3)	—
5. Syen	—	Shynna	Khongsit
6. Khubor	—	•(Irai)	—
7. Shngiam	—	D(Esrun)	Sohkhlet
8. Lphuin	—	Jubonrai (52, 20)	Majaw
9. Den	—	Khain	Riahtam
10. Kyrin	—	•(Ridon)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynroi	—	D(Jat)	Khongsit
12. Sad	—	Khim	Khongwir
13. Tanghui	Khongsit	•(Kheng)	Mynrieng
14. Rihiam	—	•(Mongbah)	Majaw
15. Liti	—	Borsing	Shabong
16. Web	—	Mrit	Buhphang
17. Latem	—	•(Ring)	Shabong
18. Langdiang	—	Burma	Riahtam
19. Ribamon	—	Swar	Pohnong
20. Mo	—	Jubonrai (8, 52)	Majaw
21. Kliet	—	Nobar	—
22. Thakeit	—	D•(Bit)	—
23. U Sabur	—	•(Jling)	Shabong
24. Iut	—	•(Khyllah)	Khongji
25. Dngar	—	•(Lariang)	Khongngain
26. Duro	Majaw	Iong	Khongshei
27. Buh	—	That	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Sbedar	Rangrah

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House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
—	—	—	—
29. U Shai	—	Phri	Khongngain
30. Tamsa	—	*(Ramjai)	Pohnong
31. Kiun	—	Joit	Khongwir
32. Krip	—	Mok	Buhphang
33. Main	—	Soh	Dkhar
34. Pein	Rangrah	Kber	Shabong
35. Ieh	—	Kdu	—
36. Kynian	—	Hara	Shabong
37. Tied	—		
38. U Thuia	—	Phiri	Lyngdoh
39. Pata	Riahtam	D*(Biria)	Tding
40. Kit	—	Shkor	Pohnong
41. Rimai	—	D*(Piew)	—
42. Rita	—	*(Bhashon)	Kynshah
43. Ribih	—	Shamaliak	Lyngdoh
44. Git	—	Kynhei	Tding
45. Jemjani	Sohkhlet	Skin	Khongji
46. Wum	—	*(Mishon)	Shabong
47. Kror	—	Sho	Khongsit
48. Hori	Shabong	*(Brim)	Rangrah
49. Pho	—	Mlian	Khongji
50. Sho	—	Slam	Khongngain
51. Luguin	—	D*(Niew)	Lyngdoh
52. Rupa	—	Jubongrai (8, 20)	Majaw
53. Ksher	—	*(Rangsi)	Khongsit
54. Kolina	—	Poi	Majaw
55. Lak	Khongji	D*(Khyllah)	Khongshei
56. U Phin	—	*(Syaid)	Mynrieng
57. Thasi	—	Ten	Shabong
58. Dheaw	—	Dormu	Rangrah
59. Syaid	Mynrieng	D(Phin, 56)	Khongji
60. Syur	—	Kdek	Khongrymmai
61. Sur	—	*(Base)	Shabong
62. Bhik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 23, 29, 38 and 56 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 20 and 52 are the same man (polygynist).

List 10. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 9.*

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Kur	*No. of house-owners*		*No. of spouses*		*Total*
	Women	*Men*	*Men*	*Women*	
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7		15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		2		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. [101] At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [211] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [346] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [771] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. 121 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are 621 tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They 166 were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, • 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected 614 at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans:

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah.
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain.
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon.
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga.

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point.

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga.

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their